

THE EASTERN CHURCHES QUARTERLY

(Continuation of *Eastern Churches* Number of "Pax,"
founded 1931.)

VOL. I.

JULY, 1936

No. 3

THE CONCEPT OF A SACRAMENT IN ST. AUGUSTINE

(On occasion of a recent article in *The Christian East*).

NEMO nisi per amicitiam cognoscitur is a saying of St. Augustine's, and it might be rendered "You cannot know a man unless you love him." "*Nihil amatum nisi praecognitum*," "You cannot love anything unless you first know it" is a saying which completes the former. It is the same with knowledge of our fellow men and with knowledge of the Fathers. Appreciative sympathy and accurate understanding are essential to know them. And it is of great benefit to know them, for they are the early teachers of and witnesses to the Christian and Catholic faith in both East and West. Here there is a work to do in explaining the East to the West and the West to the East, and if this article attempts to speak of a great Western Father's sacramental teaching, it is in the consciousness that he is a witness to that one faith which is neither Eastern or Western, but universal.

It has been necessary to write these pages in order to consider an article entitled "*The Concept of a Sacrament in Non-Augustinian Theology*" by the Hieromonk Alexis van der Mensbrugge, which appeared in *The Christian East* for Sept.-Dec., 1935. This promised to be an exposition of the modern theory of "Economy" with regard to the Sacraments, which is held by some Eastern Orthodox theologians. But it is concerned in large measure with an attack upon St. Augustine's teaching, which the author rightly assumes to be, at least in essentials, the teaching of the Catholic Church, and which, we may add, is also held by some of our Eastern Orthodox brethren.

In dealing with this matter we hope to avoid controversial writing and to let this great Father of the Church, and

other early witnesses, Eastern and Western, speak for themselves. It is however first necessary to point out that the article before us must be read with caution. It has many dogmatic statements. We give two examples and examine the worth of the patristic evidence adduced to support them.

1. "An invalid sacrament in the oldest ecclesiastical language is (not null and void but) something uprooted, upset, unsteady; it is something you cannot rely upon. It is in this sense that Tertullian spoke of schismatic ordinations as "*leves et inconstantes*" (de praescriptione haereticorum, 14)" (p. 98). This is the only supporting reference given. Tertullian's expression occurs not in C. 14 but in C. 41. This is only a slip, but the exclusion of the context is serious, for it has quite altered the meaning. The passage is concerned not with schismatics but with heretics, and runs as follows:—

Ipsae mulieres haereticæ quam procaces, quæ audeant docere contendere, exorcismos agere, orationes reprobare, forsitan et tingere! Ordinationes eorum temerariæ, leves, inconstantes; nunc neophytos collocant, nunc saeculo obstrictos, nunc apostatas nostros.

It is clear that Tertullian is speaking of the irregular way in which heretics do things, they let women perform ecclesiastical rites, and further they have rash, undignified, haphazard habits of ordaining anybody promiscuously. He is not speaking of the *effect* of these ordinations. As a matter of fact he (wrongly) held heretical baptism to be null and void (De Bapt. 15)—the opposite of the view here attributed to him.

2. An equally serious error occurs over a statement about St. Athanasius. His doctrine is put into opposition with the "Augustinian" teaching that right faith is not essential for right intention in the administration of a sacrament. "Against the Augustinian view we have that of St. Athanasius St. Athanasius is emphatic" (p. 101).

No quotations are given from St. Athanasius but presently a passage from the Abbé Saltet's famous book, *Les Ré-ordinations* is quoted as stating that St. Athanasius erroneously held that the Arians had compromised their baptism. This is correct for the *II Oratio Contra Arianos* to which Abbé Saltet is referring, but a mis-translation¹ of his words leaves us with the impression that there is nothing more to be said. On the next page of Abbé Saltet we find:—

¹ Abbé Saltet: "Il faut se mettre à ce point de vue pour comprendre l'exposé de saint Athanase sur le baptême des ariens dans la *II Oratio contra arianos*. On y discerne alors . . ." "There" is of course "in the *II Oratio*." The article tells us "Abbé Saltet says of St Athanasius . . . to be found in S. Athanasius."

Mais cette déformation très réelle imprimée a la doctrine des sacrements, représentait-elle la pensée vraie et définitive de saint Athanase? C'est une autre question (p. 45).

And he adduces strong evidence that St. Athanasius later changed his mind.

This may suffice to show that the article needs careful reading. Nor does it contain a clear and accurate representation of the Catholic theology with which it deals. We may however remit to a note¹ the consideration of some of its mistakes and turn to St. Augustine. In the article before us no references to his works are provided.

We shall here try to give an objective exposition of St. Augustine's general teaching on the sacraments, closely

¹ They generally consist either in ascribing to "Augustinian," i.e. Catholic theology some error which it does not hold, or in not ascribing to it some truth which it does hold, e.g.

1. "To give efficacy to the sacrament apart from its context (i.e. without considering the sacrament as the act of a minister, the minister as a minister of a certain Church, etc.) is to abstract it from the complex which is *the reality*." (p. 97). But on the previous page Abbé Sallet has rightly been quoted in the statement: "The church's doctrine . . . proclaims the necessary subordination of the minister and of the subject of the sacraments first to God and then to the Church."

2. "The *ex opere operato* must be really a human act, not only a mere external ceremony, however correct." Is it implied that this is not Catholic doctrine? Certainly no Catholic theologian has ever affirmed that the sacraments are mere external ceremonies. "And more than that; the act must not only be of a man . . . but of a minister, in other words of a church." Again Catholic doctrine.

3. "The Grace of God then comes from God alone through the channel of the Church whose minister has to represent her authoritatively. To forget all this is to restrict the full meaning of a sacrament." Once more, Catholic doctrine.

4. "A sacrament is an 'an efficacious sign of grace.' It is a component of two elements. The sign *and the grace*." The first of these statements is unexceptionable. A Catholic theologian would probably demur to the second because it might lead to the supposition that a division could be introduced within the "efficacious sign of grace." Of this St. Augustine is next accused: "The whole mistake of Augustine was to distract the attention from the complex (sign x grace) to one element of the complex only, and to refer the full meaning of "*mysterium*" (the grace-giving sacrament of colloquial speech) to the material rite only (the *sacramentum* of technical language)." St. Augustine shall answer for himself. To represent Catholic theology we may give two canons of the Council of Trent:

Canon 6. *Si quis dixerit sacramenta novae legis non continere gratiam quam significant, aut gratiam ipsam non ponentibus obicem non conferre quasi signa tantum externa sint . . . Anathema sit!*

Canon 7. *Si quis dixerit, non dari gratiam per huiusmodi sacramenta semper et omnibus, quantum est ex parte Dei . . . Anathema sit!*

Anyone who referred the full meaning of *mysterium* to the material rite only would be in opposition to Trent.

5. Catholic theology should only be accused of contradiction (p. 100) when it has been fairly set out. This applies to its teaching on validity in Penance and Marriage, which are by their nature special cases. We hope that these remarks will be enough.

following his actual words. In a later article we hope to deal with that part which has encountered special criticism. At the same time we shall be asking whether any charge of innovation can fairly be brought against his sacramental doctrine, whether he faithfully follows tradition or whether the statement is true that his "view goes straight against the tradition which alone occupies the field before Augustine both in East and West" and whether this tradition "might exactly be defined by reversing (the Augustinian) emphasis . . . and by subordinating the objective value of the sacramental rites to the relation which minister and subject hold towards the Church" (p. 96).

1. Anyone who lays against St. Augustine a charge of innovation is going back rather a long way—to a time before the division of East and West. For those who believe in the divinity of the Christian tradition, and even for those who do not, there is an *a priori* probability that the unchallenged teaching of a great Doctor of the early fifth century will not be a perversion.

2. St. Augustine was certainly not a conscious innovator. His reverence for the universal tradition and custom of the church is such that they are for him a rule of faith. Over a matter which will concern us, the non-rebaptizing of those baptized in heresy or schism, we find him saying:—

Hoc per universam Catholicam quae toto orbe diffunditur observari placuit quod tenemus (contra Crescon., 1. 38). Saluberriman consuetudinem tenebat ecclesia (de Bapt. II, 12).

If the custom is universal, he believes it comes from apostolic tradition (ibid). If a matter is in doubt, he will not pronounce (ib. VII, 102). For a break in tradition he has no use (II, 14).

3. Traditional Christianity soon discovers and denounces an innovator. It only acclaims a theologian when he discloses or proclaims elements *within* the traditional faith which are recognised always to have belonged to it. This was the praise bestowed upon St. Augustine by contemporaries and happily expressed by St. Jerome (who is writing from the East):

Catholici te conditorem antiquae rursus fidei venerantur (Ep. CXLI, M.L. 22, 1180).

To take one more tribute among many, we find a contemporary account of an assembly held at Jerusalem under the presidency of the Bishop. When the heretic Pelagius declares before them 'what is Augustine to me,' "all cried out that a man who blasphemed against a bishop by whose mouth Our Lord had vouchsafed to heal the unity of the whole of Africa,

ought to be expelled not only from the assembly but from the whole Church" (Orosius in M.L., 45, 1699). They were referring to the conversion of the Donatists by just those writings and sermons of St. Augustine which are concerned with the sacraments.

Those who came after the Saint gave him similar praise and testimony (cf. the quotations in the Bollandists' *Acta Sanctorum*, Aug., t. VI, p. 359 sq.). Objections to his doctrine on predestination could be quoted, but there was no such protest over his sacramental teaching, and the confused practices of the Dark Ages certainly cannot be taken as such.

It is time to come to the Augustinian doctrine, and here we may quote the words with which Mgr. Batiffol ended his great book, *Le Catholicisme de S. Augustin*:¹

Le mérite que nous voulons restituer à Augustin est d'avoir fait du Catholicisme, non plus seulement une intelligence, non plus seulement une unité, mais une mystique. Il a eu plus qu'aucun de tous les docteurs l'intuition affectueuse de la présence et de l'action de Dieu dans l'Église (p. 548).

1. With St. Paul as source, St. Augustine gives magnificent expression to the mystical bonds which unite the Church to God and to Christ. For the Church, the "redeemed family of Christ Our Lord and exiled City of Christ the King" (*Civ. Dei*, i, 35 etc.) is joined to him as body to head (*ib.* XVII, 20 etc.).

She is the Spouse of Christ who came forth from His side as He slept on the cross, since from that pierced side flowed the sacraments (*Enarr. in Ps. CIII, IV, 6 etc.*), and He and His Church are one flesh (*ib.* XXX, I, 4 etc.). The fruit of her union with Him are the baptised, *O novelli filii castae matris* (*Sermo CCXXIII, 1*).

2. The Church 'which is founded on the rock, which has received the keys to bind and loose,' alone possesses *all* her Lord's power :

Haec est una quae tenet et possidet omnem sui sponsi et Domini potestatem (*de Bapt. IV, 1*).

3. To her belong the sacraments (*ib.* 2 etc.) and these confer grace (*ib.* ; *Enarr. in Ps. LXXIII, 2* ; *contra Faust. XIX, c. XIII-XIV*).

4. The conferring of grace through the sacraments is the work of Christ Himself or of His Holy Spirit. He argues from John IV, 2, "Though Jesus himself did not baptise but his disciples" that while those baptised with John the Baptist's baptism had afterwards to be given Christian baptism (*cf.* Acts XIX, 5), those baptised by a Judas with Christ's

¹ We wish to express our indebtedness to this, to Pourrat's "*La Théologie Sacramentaire*" and to the article *Augustin* (Saint) by E. Portalis in the *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*.

baptism were not again baptised, since the power was Christ's :

Quamvis ipse non baptizaret, sed discipuli ejus. Ipse, et non ipse ; ipse potestate, illi ministerio ; servitutem ad baptizandum illi admovebant, potestas baptizandi per Christum permanebat (In Joann. V, 18).

Again, the work of regeneration in baptism is not ascribed by Scripture to the will of the parents, nor to the faith of sponsor or of minister, but a man is "born again of water¹ and the Holy Ghost" (Jn. III, 5 ; Ep. XCVIII, 2). This principle of the absolute primacy of God in conferring the grace of the sacrament is illustrated by the quotation which St. Augustine makes from St. Paul : "Neither he that planteth is anything, nor he that watereth ; but God that giveth the increase" (1 Cor. III, 6-7), and which he applies to the man who enrolls a catechumen and to the actual minister of baptism (Contra Litt. Pet. III, 53). Each does his necessary human action, God gives the grace.

So Augustine never excludes the action of the "ministers of him whom you have believed" (Cor. III, 5). Quoting these last words he asks "is the minister of Christ not anything?" "Who shall say this?" is his comment. "But then how can it be true that 'neither he that planteth is anything nor he that watereth, but God that giveth the increase?' " The answer is that "for the ministration and dispensation of the word and the sacrament he is something ; but for cleansing and justifying he is not anything, for this is not worked in the inner man save by Him through whom the whole man was created" (Contra Litt. Pet. III, 54).

A careful reading will have shown how deeply St. Augustine's principles inhere in Scripture. But are they also to be found in tradition, or have we a case of innovation, or at least a change of emphasis? Let us call two earlier witnesses, the first being one of the greatest of the Eastern Fathers, St. John Chrysostom. He too takes his thought from St. Paul :

'All things are for you,' he saith, 'whether Paul or Apollo or Cephas. For what the priest has entrusted to him, is the gift of God alone. . . Why do I speak of priests? Neither angel nor archangel can work anything as regards these things which are given from God ; but Father and Son and Holy Spirit administer all things. But the priest lends his tongue and provides his hand. For neither was it right that through another's wickedness those who came to the faith should be harmed in the symbols of our salvation. (In Joann. LXXXVI, M.G. 59, 472-3).

St. Ambrose may next be cited. He is speaking of baptism and of the bishops of the great sees :

¹ Water in the sacramental action, for water without "the word" is not baptism (In Joann xv, 4).

Thou, O Lord Jesus, to-day hast cleansed a thousand: How many in the City of Rome, how many at Alexandria, how many at Antioch, how many also at Constantinople ! . . . Damasus cleansed not, Peter (of Alexandria) cleansed not, Ambrose cleansed not, Gregory cleansed not ; for ours is the service but thine the sacraments. For neither belongeth it to human help to confer things divine, but the gift, Lord, is thine and the Father's who spoke by the prophets, saying, " I will pour forth of my spirit upon all flesh. . . ." (De Spir. Sancto, Prol. 17, 18).

St. John Chrysostom and St. Ambrose may stand as representative, for they are witnesses for the traditions of two of the greatest Sees in Christendom, Antioch and Milan. But lest it should be thought that we are denying to the minister his instrumental causality or to the subject his necessary dispositions, we add the testimony of St. Optatus who puts it all very clearly :

Principalem locum Trinitas possidet, sine qua res ipsa non potest geri ; hanc sequitur fides credentis ; iam persona operantis vicina est, quae simili auctoritate esse non potest (De Schism. Don. V, 4).

It should surely be clear that St. Augustine's affirmation of God's primacy in conferring grace through the sacraments does not involve a ' materialistic ' view of them. The external sign indeed is necessary and may not be despised (Quaest. in Hept. III, 84), but the sign is transitory, the grace remains :

In ipso verbo aliud est sonus transiens, aliud virtus manens (In Joann. LXXX, 3).

and for adults proper dispositions are required. (de Bapt. IV, 24).

5. What, then, is the minister ? Again St. Augustine uses a phrase consecrated in the New Testament. He is the dispenser of the mysteries of God, the steward to whom they are committed. Not all are priests (Sermo CXXXVII, 8). But some Christ has constituted (Enarr. in Ps. CIX, 1), and such a one is

Minister, id est dispensator verbi et sacramenti evangelici (Contra Litt. Pet. III, 55).

We claim so far to find in what we have written of St. Augustine the truth of Mgr. Batiffol's judgment (*Op cit.* p. 74) :

Sa pensée, parce qu'elle veut être et parce qu'elle est l'intelligence de sa foi, s'enracine constamment dans l'enseignement impersonnel de église.

DOM RALPH RUSSELL.

(To be continued).

RUSSIAN CHURCH ART AND ARCHITECTURE

EDITOR'S NOTE.—We here subjoin one or two critical notes to Mr. St. George's article.

Andrei Rublev who, though he came from Novgorod, worked all his life in Moscow, is very often classified as the founder of the Moscow school.

The Tretyakov gallery possessed a very fine collection of eikons previous to the year 1913—in pre-war Russia.

Speaking of church architecture it should be said that in the first decade of this century there was a remarkable renaissance in church building, the present Soviet architect, Schusser, had built in pre-war Russia several churches. Most of these churches along with thousands of others have now been destroyed.

Mr. St. George himself supplied the photographs of the churches from which Mr. Peter Anson has made his sketches, both of whom we thank.

I.

THE following notes, which were written after a short visit to the U.S.S.R. in September 1935, are an attempt to trace briefly the origin, bloom and subsequent decay of eikon painting and church architecture in Russia. It must be remembered, however, that they are not the result of deep historical study, and express the interest of an amateur rather than the technical researches of an expert.

The subject of Russian eikon painting is still somewhat obscure. Professor Minn's translation of Kondakov's *The Russian Eikon* is prohibitive in price for most people, and books in other languages are not easily accessible.

Kondakov tells us that among graphic (representational) arts the eikon was the most important in Russia, and apart from the early Novgorod frescoes, the chief expression of religious thought even in the XIVth century. Later on when frescoes became subordinate to eikons, the eikon became the only symbol of faith.

Russian eikon painting arose from the contact of Russia and Byzantium, and more particularly from the introduction of Christianity by the princes of Kiev about 988 A.D. The first eikon painters who settled at Novgorod and Kiev were Greeks. In the XIIth and XIIIth centuries Greeks and Russians worked side by side and later on the Russian eikon evolved gradually by a slow reconstruction on national lines.

It might be of interest to note that the Byzantine eikon, which was the model copied in Russia, took its rise in the Vth or VIth centuries. But the Byzantine eikon itself was brought to a sudden stop by the growth of the iconoclastic movement in the VIIIth century, which so thoroughly exterminated Byzantine art that we can only guess about it and search out traces of the originals in the productions of later times.

None of the pre-iconoclastic eikons enter, therefore, into the history of Russian eikon painting. Kondakov tells us that there is no single example of Russian eikon painting older than the IXth century, and that Russians would see and copy no eikons until the Xth or XIth centuries.

It was not until the end of the XIVth century that an essential Russian style of eikon painting developed, which culminated in the art of Andrei Rublev. This artist brought life to the original Byzantine model and created types which informed



"OLD TESTAMENT TRINITY," BY ANDREI RUBLEV

Sketched at St. Ann's Studio, Chelsea

religious art with a new spiritual significance. We next come to the period of the Moscow school which assimilated the best traditions of the Suzdal school and that of Rublev. In the XVIth century the eikon painting shops of Pskov and Novgorod were transferred to Moscow and the best traditions of these schools were also assimilated. The chief characteristic of the Moscow school was an enlarged stock of iconographic schemes taking in subjects in favour all over Russia and elaboration of decoration and colour.

The Stroganov school which next followed was remarkable for a complicated and minutely treated composition ascribed to Eastern, *i.e.* Persian or Indian influence. Some critics assign all eikons of the XVIth and XVIIth centuries to this school. The Stroganovs, who were commercial magnates of northern and eastern Russia, kept their own eikon painting shops and were great builders and decorators of churches.

The close of the XVIIth century is regarded as the end of the history of eikon painting. The traditional type of eikon, with its essential strength of composition, gave way to the "fryaz" or semi-European style, which can perhaps be described as more like ordinary painting, and is exemplified in the work of Simon Ushakov. It was also during this period that the practice became popular of covering the eikon with a plate of silver or other metal showing the folds of garments, etc., in slight relief, and leaving only the face and hands uncovered. In the XVIIIth and XIXth centuries this practice became universal.

The XVIIIth century was a period of complete oblivion as regards eikon painting, but during the XIXth century interest revived encouraged only by the obstinate survival of a forgotten art in the home-practised (*kustarny*) crafts of settlements devoted to skilled trades. Of late years the art had been brought to an almost impossible state by enterprising manufacturers of blacking tins printing the better known eikons in colour on tin plates.

A useful summary of the periods of eikon painting is given by Muratov in *Les Icones Russes*: the Byzantine period (1000—1250), corresponding to the Novgorod and Kiev age in Russian civilisation; the Novgorod period (1250—1500), in which a Russian character was given to the art; and finally the Moscow period (1500—1700), the age of the Tsars.

Many of the finest examples of eikon painting in the numerous churches and monasteries of Russia had become obscured by centuries of incense and candle-smoke. When at last it became necessary to clean and restore these, the artist often did not follow the original subject too closely, and in time an eikon of Our Lady very often degenerated into the likeness of some bearded saint! While venerated as symbols of faith they were practically ruined as works of art.

About 1913 some systematic attempt was made to clean and free eikons from such overpainting. But it was not until 1917 that the National Central Restoration Workshops were set up at Moscow at the suggestion of Professor Igor Grabar to deal in a scientific manner with the restoration and classification of Russian eikons. Instructions were given that these were in future to be cleaned and uncovered, but not restored or touched up in any way. The fruit of this policy can be

examined in the Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow. In the first room is one of the oldest surviving eikons in Russia: "Our Lady of Vladimir." This eikon, which had been formerly in the Cathedral of the Assumption in the Kremlin, had been overpainted no less than six times, and in consequence its original style was quite unrecognisable.

Kondakov, disregarding its traditional age and judging from its iconography alone, had assigned it to the XIVth century. But it is now established beyond doubt that this is the original eikon which was brought from Constantinople to Kiev in the first place by Andrei Bogolubsky in 1140; and also that this type of eikon, known in Russia as "Our Lady's Tenderness"



ENTRANCE GATEWAY, KOLOMENSKOYE
IN BACKGROUND, CHURCH OF OUR LADY OF KAZAN

(Umilenie) in which the Holy Child is represented as clinging to Our Lady, who appears to shelter Him from the sufferings he is to endure—sometimes symbolized by the instruments of the Passion—was already in Greece before 1140 and cannot be due to Italian influence as some critics had asserted.

In an adjoining room is the "Old Testament Trinity" by Andrei Rublev. The praise of this remarkable eikon by critics has not been exaggerated. Formerly in the eikostasias of the Trinity Cathedral of the Troitse-Sergieva Lavra, it has now been replaced by a copy. This interesting monas-

tery, about 40 miles by road from Moscow, was founded by St. Sergius Radonejski in 1340, and afterwards became the most important historically and the richest in the whole of Russia; it also formed the nucleus of a network of new monasteries. In 1370 Dmitri Donskoi after receiving the blessing of its saintly Abbot defeated the Tartars at the battle of Kulikovo. He was the first Russian prince to offer organised resistance to the Tartars and this victory sounded the death knell of Mongol power in Russia. In 1612 it successfully withstood a siege by the Poles, which resulted in a renewal of confidence and the expulsion of the invaders. The churches and monastic buildings have now been secularised and turned into a museum of ecclesiastical treasures and works of art. A remarkable collection, which took four hours to examine, included jewelled mitres, crosses, and service books; also rooms full of eikons and vestments made from XIVth and XVth century Persian and Turkish tissues and materials.

In addition to the State Tretyakoff Gallery, Moscow, the collections of eikons in the Russian State Museum, Leningrad, and in the Kremlin Museum, Novgorod, are particularly well arranged and displayed for those who might wish to study the development of eikon painting, and the charm of colour and composition of the Russian eikon when it has been scientifically cleaned—but not restored.

II.

All that is left of ancient Russian architecture is its churches. The Russian traditional school of architecture originated at Novgorod and was afterwards carried on in the Vladimir Suzdal region and later on in Moscow.

The early examples were built by Greeks, but later the Byzantine models were adapted to the Russian style. Churches were also built by Greeks at Kiev, but continual warfare and the Tartar invasion which lasted for about 250 years prevented a school of national architects from springing up.

The interesting wooden churches which had their origin in northern Russia where stone was difficult to obtain also were the result of applying to new materials the traditional architectural principles which took their rise in Novgorod.

The necessity of building in wood led to the substitution of octagonal steeples for Byzantine cupolas, which again had an influence on towers built of other materials further south. The tower of the Church of Kolomenskoye, about 15 miles from Moscow occupying high ground overlooking the Moskva river, is a good illustration of this development. On the site of a summer palace which formerly belonged to Ivan the Terrible an ancient wooden watch tower has been re-erected. This can be compared with the church tower.

Russian Church Art and Architecture 85

In order to study the earliest period of church architecture the student is recommended to make an expedition to Novgorod, which is about 175 miles by road from Leningrad. Much of interest can be seen in a day's visit. The road passes through low lying country, forests and lakes, with an occasional small village and church on slightly rising ground.

Novgorod is mentioned by Arab and Scandinavian writers as early as the IXth and Xth centuries. Rurik (862—879) a Varangian chieftain from Sweden and the first ruler of Russia, made it his capital. From the XIth century and onwards Novgorod became an important commercial town



BELL TOWER OF ST. SOPHIA CATHEDRAL, NOVGOROD

owing to its being well placed on the trade routes connecting the West with Byzantium and the East along internal waterways from the Black and Caspian Seas. When the seat of Government was changed to Moscow it still retained a high level of culture up to the XVIth century.

The St. Sophia Cathedral, now a museum, was built by Greeks in 1045. The Belfry was added in 1463 and still contains its bells. The Korsun Gates at the western entrance, a work of German art of the XIIth century, and some original mosaics and frescoes in the Cathedral are of considerable interest.

The town and the surrounding country contain a wealth of small churches dating from the XIth to the XVIIth centuries. As time was limited it was possible to examine only three of these: the St. Theodore Stratilates Church, built in 1360 in the typical Novgorod style of almost box-like severity; the two-storied Church of the Resurrection in the Wood, built in the XIVth century; and the XVth century Church of the Assumption on the Volatava, which was in a small village some distance from the town and cut off from the main road by flooded fields.



ST. THEODORE STRATILATES CHURCH, NOVGOROD

All these churches contained contemporary frescoes which had been or were in the process of being uncovered and treated by experts.

It must be understood that the later Muscovite architecture is by no means the pure resultant of the Novgorod school and the wooden churches in the north. The taste for a barbaric profuseness of ornament, as shown in the Church of St. Basil the Blessed in the Red Square at Moscow built in the reign of Ivan the Terrible (1554—1560), is due to Tartar and Eastern influence. Peter the Great and afterwards Catherine II and Alexander I were responsible for introducing Western influence.

The best-known of the Russianised foreign architects was Rastrelli, who built numerous churches and palaces. The



CATHEDRAL OF THE ASSUMPTION, TROITSE-SERGIEVA LAVRA, SERGIEVO

bell-tower of the Troitse-Sergieva Lavra is an example of his work.

In the reign of Nicholas I many churches were built all over Russia under German influence in a debased pseudo Russian style. Since then there have been no important development in church architecture.

C. F. L. ST. GEORGE.

THE SYRIAN LITURGY

V.—THE EUCHARISTIC LITURGY (*cont.*)

THE MASS OF THE CATECHUMENS.

26. To this strictly speaking should belong the incensing just described; in practice it is the end of the Second Teshmeshto.

The Office, usually Sext, being now over, the Mass proper begins with the Anthem of the Qurobho (m'anitho dh'-qurobho), 'O Μοϋϋης, attributed by the Jacobites to Severus of Antioch; it is preceded by a hemistich, "I will exalt thee, O my Lord King" (Ps. 145, v. 1). During this a procession (k'rokhyo, "circuit") goes round the altar, the

priest carrying the censer with candles before him. On returning he incenses the altar, clergy, people, and the Mysteries. He then goes up to the altar and the Trisagion is said thrice, "Holy art thou, O God; holy art thou, O mighty; holy art thou, O immortal (who wast crucified for us), have mercy upon us."

27. Normally the lessons are reduced to two, the "Apostle" or "Paul," from the Epistles of St. Paul,¹ and the Gospel; each is preceded by a secret prayer. Before the Apostle is sung the *zummoro*, roughly our gradual, and before the Gospel the *hullolo* (Halleluiahs with a verse). The Apostle is read by the deacon from the side door of the screen, the Gospel by the celebrant at the main door: it is incensed during the reading by the deacon, and lights are carried. In Malabar a small table covered with a coloured cloth is brought from the sanctuary for the purpose; a cross is placed on the west side and a bookstand on the east between two tapers (Howard, *op. cit.*, p. 139). The secret prayer after the Gospel follows.

THE "ENTRANCE."

28. Meanwhile the "*qolo* of the entrance of the *qurobho*" is sung. At one time the Jacobites had a procession of the Mysteries here from the altar to the altar. This may have been a copy of the Byzantine Great Entrance and has long disappeared. The word "entrance" refers not to this but either to the "beginning" of the Mass of the Faithful (cf. "Entrance of the Fast") or to the entrance of the priest and ministers into the sanctuary from the *catastroma*, which took place here in the old East Syrian or Nestorian rite.

The *hussoyo* or *sedhro* "of the entrance of the *qurobho*" prefaced by "*Stomen kalos*" said by the deacon and the reply "*Kyrie eleison*" by the people. After the proem the priest descends to the foot of the altar and before "*Propitious therefore*" (v. section 19) puts on incense and chants the *sedhro*. At its end he again puts on incense and then grasping with his left hand one chain of the censer blesses it with his right saying, "Holy is the holy Father"; he then grasps the second chain in addition and then the third, blessing as before and saying "Holy is the Holy Son," "Holy is the Holy Spirit who halloweth the incense," etc., the people replying "Amen" to each blessing.

After the diaconal exclamation "*Sophia Theo proschomena*" the priest begins "We believe in one God" and during the recitation of the Creed incenses the altar, the Mysteries, the clergy and the people. He then washes his fingers, asks the

¹ In Malabar, apparently, the Apostle is commonly omitted.

prayers of the people, and bowing down or kneeling before the altar says in secret a short prayer of preparation and remembers such of the living and dead as he may desire. He next kisses the step, goes up to the altar, and begins the Anaphora. In some places after the Creed the deacon admonishes the people, "Behold a time of prayer," etc., the representative of the "Eastern" Proclamation upon the step.

THE ANAPHORA.

29. The first prayer of the Anaphora is that "before the Peace," said aloud with the hands folded on the breast. Then comes "Peace be to you all" and the kiss. The methods of giving the peace vary. (i) The deacon takes the priest's joined hands between his own and passes his own down his face; he then gives his hands likewise to the next and so the peace goes round the church. Or (ii) the deacon censes the priest who catches the smoke and puts it to his face (Howard, *op. cit.*, pp. 142, 143). The deacon censes the clergy who act in the same manner. Among the Syr. (iii) the priest kisses the altar; the deacon then kisses it in the same place¹ while the priest blesses him, and kisses the priest's hand. He then censes the clergy who act as in (ii) and then the people who pass the peace as in (i). If no clergy be present, the deacon passes the peace by hand as in (i).

The second prayer is "of the imposition of the hand" (*s'yom-idho*), *i.e.* of Inclination, prefaced by the diaconal bidding to the people to bow their heads to the Lord. It is said with the hands folded as before and is immediately followed by the "Prayer of the anaphora" or "of the veil," similarly said.

30. The deacon now proclaims "Stand we fairly, stand we with trembling," etc., and meanwhile the priest lifts the anaphora or great veil from the paten and chalice and makes it to flutter over the Mysteries, raising and lowering it thrice. He then blesses himself, the deacons on either side, and the people saying "The love of God the Father and the grace of the only-begotten Son and the communion and descent of the Holy Ghost be with you all for ever." R⁷ "With thy spirit." Then turning to the altar and lifting up his eyes and hands he says "On high where Christ sitteth at the right hand of God the Father be the minds and intellects and hearts of us all at this hour." R⁷ "They are with the Lord our God." And then "Let us give thanks unto the Lord in fear." R⁷ "Meet and right." According to Howard, p. 144, it is here that the priest turns to the altar.

¹ So the rubric for solemn Mass. According to the Rev. G. Khouri-Sarkis the minister kisses the two corners of the altar.

31. The "Prayer of the thanksgiving" (eucharistia) now begins, our Preface but also comprising the Anaphora to the end of the Epiclesis or Invocation of the Holy Ghost. The Preface consists of two parts, the first said in secret while the priest bows down fluttering his right hand over the paten and his left over the chalice, the second said aloud while he stands up and stretches out his hands. The whole ends with the *Sanctus*, which in common with the Latin but not with the Byzantine reads "Holy holy holy Lord God." The priest continues the Anaphora bowing down and fluttering his hands thrice as before, and standing up begins aloud the recital of the Last Supper. At "he took bread" the priest takes up one Host from the paten and places it ceremoniously on the palm of his left hand; at "and blessed" he blesses it twice and once more at "and hallowed"; at "and brake" he breaks it slightly at one of the middle crosses, taking care not to separate the halves, and then continues with the Words of Institution. At "and for many is broken" he turns the Host half a circle on the left and breaks it slightly at the bottom, again without dividing it, and after "for ever and ever" lays it on the paten; if a Catholic he worships. At "Likewise also the chalice" the priest takes the chalice by the middle in his right hand and lifts it up over the tablitho, at "he gave thanks" he ceremoniously takes it in his left hand and then blesses it thrice as above; at "Take, drink ye" he places his right hand on the lip of the chalice, and at "is shed" takes it in the same hand and lifts or tilts it slightly over the tablitho, moves it crosswise, puts it down in its place, and last of all, if a Catholic, worships. After each section of the Words of Institution the people answer "Amen."

The Lord's command "This do ye" follows with the people's "Thy death O our Lord, do we commemorate," etc., and then, with two responses by the people, the Anamnesis said aloud. The Syrian Liturgy has the peculiarity that this prayer is addressed to God the Son; the Greek St. James, as usual, is to God the Father. Then comes the Invocation (q'roito) of the Holy Ghost. The priest begins it in secret bowing down and fluttering his hands thrice as before, then smiting his breast cries aloud "Hear me, O Lord; hear me, O Lord; hear me, O Lord. Be propitious, O good one, and have mercy upon me," the people answering "Kyrie eleison" thrice, and continues the prayer aloud fluttering his right hand over the Host thrice and making the sign of the cross over it thrice, and similarly over the chalice. The people reply "Amen" on each occasion. He then covers the chalice and proceeds standing upright with hands outstretched and so completes the Epiclesis.

THE INTERCESSION.

32. The Great Intercession which follows consists of six prayers; three for the living, that is the fathers or pastors, the faithful brethren, and faithful kings, and three for the dead, namely the Mother of God and the saints, the fathers and doctors, and the departed. Each prayer has two parts. The first is said in secret by the priest bowing down with hands folded; during this the deacon recites the diptych or canon (diptukho, diyoptykho; qonuno), at the end of which the people answer "Kyrie eleison." The second is said aloud, the priest standing with forearms outstretched; at its end he lowers his arms by the Mysteries "and in his hands takes a blessing from them," and the people say "Amen." The generic name of the secret half of a prayer is g'honto, "inclination," and of second half said aloud t'loito, "elevation" *scil.* of the voice, or p'shotto, "extension" *scil.* of the hands. At the g'honto of the fathers and doctors the priest makes a cross with his thumb over the Host and then on the page of the "Book of life" ¹ over the names of the deceased bishops; he does the same at the next prayer over the names of the departed presbyters and others. The last prayer ends with a doxology, to which the people reply, "As it was, is, and awaiteth to generations of generations and to all generations world without end. Amen."

As examples of the diptychs the text of the first (Syr.) and of the fifth (Jacobite) are given:—

No. 1. Bless, O my lord. Pray we and beseech our Lord and our God at this great and terrible and holy moment for all our fathers and rulers who stand at our head this day and in this present life and tend and rule the holy Churches of God in the four quarters of the world, our holy venerable and blessed fathers² the great pontiff mar³ N., pope of Rome, and mar Ignatius N., our patriarch²—and our father mar N., our sacred metropolitan (or bishop); may they be stablished in God! with the residue of all the orthodox bishops: their prayer be a wall to us! Let us beseech the Lord.

No. 5. Again then also we commemorate those who among the saints in holiness have aforetime fallen asleep and are at rest and kept the one apostolic stainless faith and gave and delivered it to us: those then of the three sacred and holy and œcumenical synods we proclaim, that indeed at Nicæa and that in Constantinople and that in Ephesus, and our glorious and God-clothed fathers the sacred (bishops) and

¹ A list placed on the altar, in which are inscribed the names of the departed.

²⁻² The Jacobites commemorate "our patriarchs mar Ignatius and mar Basil," *i.e.* the patriarch and the maphrian.

³ "My lord," applied to saints and bishops.

teachers who were in them ; and James indeed archbishop of Jerusalem and apostle and martyr, Ignatius, Dionysius, Athanasius, Julius, Basil, Gregory, Dioscorus, Timothy, Philoxenus, Anthimus, John [=Chrysostom], especially Cyril who was a lofty tower and interpreter who expounded and explained the incarnation of the Word of God made flesh ; again then also our patriarch mar Severus the eloquent mouth and pillar and doctor of all the holy Church of God, and our sacred holy father mar James Baradaeus establisher of the orthodox faith ; and mar Ephraim and mar James and mar Isaac and mar Balai with mar Barsauma chief of mourners (*scil.* hermits) and mar Simeon Stylites ; and those who before them and with them and after them kept the one orthodox and uncorrupted faith and gave and delivered it to us. Let us beseech the Lord.

After "Peace be to you all" the priest places his right hand on the Mysteries, blesses himself and those on either side, and then turning round blesses the people thrice saying "May the mercies of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ be with you all, my brethren, for ever."

THE FRACTION.

33. The veil is now drawn. The priest uncovers the chalice and begins the "Order of breaking and signing" (tukoso dh'-q' soyo w'rushmo), during which the deacon says the qatholiqi (καθολική). This consists of variable verses, sometimes called kathisma, at the end of which is a litany beginning with "An angel of tranquillity and of peace and of mercies and of grace, my brethren, at all times let us implore of the Lord." The answer to each petition (takhshephtho) is "Kyrie eleison," and to the last "Our lives let us commit into thy hands, O Lord merciful God, and ask for mercies ; be propitious, O good one, and have mercy upon us."

The prayer at the Fraction in use among the Jacobites is attributed to Dionysius Barsalibi (ob. 1171). It is in reality an adaptation of his work on the Liturgy, in which this passage has been copied from the ninth century commentator Moses bar Kepho. Purged of Monophysism it was used by the Syr. until 1922, when it was displaced by the learned patriarch, Mgr. Rahmani, in favour of the much older formula rejected in the time of the Jacobite patriarch George I (viii cent.) ; this reads "The heavenly Bread we break in the name of the Father. Amen. And of the Son. Amen. And of the Spirit living and holy. Amen. For life world without end. Amen." The mode of the Fraction and Consignation is so peculiar that it is worth while describing at length with the text of Barsalibi's prayer, which was composed to suit it :—

Thus truly did the Word of God suffer in the flesh *the priest breaks the Host in the midst, saying and was sacrificed and broken on the rood he divides and separates the halves slightly and his Soul was separated from his Body he unites them though his Godhead was in no wise separated either from his Soul or from his Body he dips the top of the half in his right hand making a cross in the chalice and then with the moistened top signs the broken edge of the left hand half and he was pierced ✠ in his side ✠ with the lance he dips it again and therefrom flowed forth blood and water, the propitiation for the whole world, and signs the left half again and his Body was stained therewith. He joins the halves and turns them round half a circle from right to left. And for the sin of the circle of the whole world he dips the original left hand top, now at the right bottom, and signs the Blood inversely, viz., from west to east, etc., the Son ✠ died and signs the half now in his left hand as before upon the ✠ rood. He joins the halves. And his Soul came back and was united with his Body he elevates them so joined and bows; and on the third day he rose from the tomb he lowers them and turns them round half a circle from left to right and he turned us from a left-hand conversation to that of the right hand he proceeds holding the whole Host with the two moistened tops uppermost and by the Blood of his rood reconciled and united and joined heavenly beings with those of earth and the people with the nations¹ and the soul with the body. And he is one Emmanuel and not divided after the indivisible union into two natures.² (Malabar. *He touches the Host with his right hand and puts it to his forehead*). Thus we believe and (Malabar. *The same action repeated*) thus we confess and thus we declare he places the right half over the left half crosswise and holding them in the fingers of his left hand breaks a "Coal," i.e. the top from one, and places it in the chalice that this Body belongeth to this Blood he breaks a "Coal," i.e. the top of the other half, brings it near to the mouth of the chalice and then to the half from which it was broken and this Blood to this Body.*

Thus there are six crosses, three on the Body and three on the Blood. At the end of the prayer he places the two halves in his left hand on the paten. He now holds the paten in his left hand with the "Coal" between his fingers and dips this particle in the chalice and signs on the left half of the Host, dips it again and signs on the right half, and finally dips it once more and signs both halves together. He then places the "Coal" upon the two halves and replaces the paten on the altar.³

¹ The Jews with the Gentiles.

² Syr. "One Emmanuel who is one person in two natures." In some Jacobite MSS. "and on the third day . . . tomb" is absent.

³ According to Howard, p. 240, after the prayer of Barsalibi the priest divides the two large pieces into four parts, places them on the paten, and dipping one of the small parts in the chalice touches the other parts with it in ten different places twice over.

PATER NOSTER AND INCLINATION.

34. The veil is now drawn back, and the qatholiqi being ended the priest begins aloud with outstretched hands the Prayer of the Our Father, corresponding to our "Praeceptis salutaribus moniti." He then begins the Lord's Prayer, which is continued by the people. This is followed by the Embolism, also said aloud with hands outstretched, "Peace be to you all," and the Prayer of imposition of the hand or of Inclination. After a second "Peace be to you all" the priest places his hand on the Mysteries and blesses himself, those on either side and the people as before, saying "May the grace and the mercies of the Trinity, holy and glorious and uncreated, essential and eternal, adorable and consubstantial, be with you all for ever," to which the people reply "Amen."

THE ELEVATION.

35. The Elevation (zuyyoho) follows. The deacon cries "Bless, O my lord. In fear and trembling let us give heed," and the people answer "Be propitious, O Lord, and have mercy upon us." The priest takes the paten in both hands and raises it aloft moving it crosswise from east to west and from north to south, crying "The holies to the holy and pure are given," to which the response is "One holy Father, one holy Son, one living and holy Spirit." The priest places the paten upon his eyes, kisses it, puts it down on the altar and worships. He then uncovers the chalice, lifts it and replaces it with the same ceremonies, the people saying "Glory be to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Ghost. One are they world without end. Amen." The priest next takes the paten in his right hand and the chalice in his left and holding the right over the left crosswise says "The one holy Father is with us who formed the world by his grace." R^y "Amen." "The one holy Son is with us who saved us by his own precious sufferings." R^y "Amen." "The one holy Spirit is with us who is the completer and perfecter of all that hath been and is. Blessed be the name of the Lord from everlasting and to world without end." R^y "Amen."

Some Jacobite books here insert a teshmeshto of our Lady or a kyklion (v. section 46) of the departed. The Syr. Diaconale for Commons of Saints provides a teshmeshto, viz. kyklion, 'eqbo, and qolo.

THE COMMUNION.

36. The chanters sing "Verse. *In oblations and in prayers.* Let us remember our fathers who taught us whilst alive to be children unto God in this world that passeth away. O Son of God, rest them in the kingdom of heaven with the just

and with the righteous in the world that passeth not away," and then the appropriate anthem styled shubboho. Meanwhile the priest has put down the paten and chalice on the altar. He then places the star over the paten and covers this and the chalice with their veils, comes down from the altar, asks pardon of the people but without turning his back on the Mysteries, and bowing down or kneeling says a short prayer preparatory to his Communion with hands folded on his breast. He then goes up, uncovers the Mysteries, and with the spoon takes the "Coal" from the chalice and says, "Thee do I hold who holdest the bounds; thee do I grasp who orderest the depths; thee, O God, in my mouth do I place; by thee may I be delivered from unquenchable fire and be accounted worthy of forgiveness of sins like the sinful woman and like the thief, O our Lord and our God, for ever." He now lifts the "Coal" with the spoon from the chalice with a little of the Blood and communicates himself saying "The propitiatory coal of the Body and Blood of Christ our God is given to me a weak and sinful servant for pardon of offences and forgiveness of sins in both worlds, world without end. Amen." Then he puts the other "Coal" which was placed on the paten into the spoon and so into the chalice, and communicates himself with the Blood by means of the spoon saying "By the living and life-giving Blood which was shed on the rood may my offences be pardoned and my sins forgiven, Jesu Word of God who camest for our salvation and art about to come for our resurrection, O our Lord and our God, for ever. Amen."

37. The Communion, among the Syr. at least, now follows, the number of "pearls" necessary for the Communion being broken off from the Host. In no case should the cross on each particle be broken. These are cast into the chalice (Syr. for the Communion of the priests and deacons). When communicating the clergy with the spoon the priest says "The propitiatory coal of the holy Body and the propitiatory Blood of Christ our God is given to the pious priest (or modest deacon or Antonian monk) and steward of the house of God for pardon of offences and forgiveness of sins; his prayer be with us! Amen."¹

The veil which has been drawn during the Communion of the celebrant and clergy is now pulled back.

38. The priest now covers the paten and the chalice and holding the first in his right hand and the second in his left

¹ At Sharfeh the deacon brought a chalice, purificator, and spoon for his own Communion. The priest took the spoon and communicated the deacon while the latter held his chalice under his chin. He then went to the diaconicon and took his own ablution.

turns, and "as the Mysteries go forth" with candles before them, says a short prayer aloud. He then blesses the people with the paten making the sign of the cross from west to east and from right to left, saying "Stretch forth, O Lord, thine invisible right hand and bless this assembly of thy worshippers," etc., and crossing his right hand over his left descends from the step to the place of Communion outside the sanctuary, reciting aloud another prayer. The formula of Communion resembles that given above but substitutes for "pious priest," etc. "the subdeacon, or reader, or psaltist, or true believer." The communicant answers "Amen." During the Communion an anthem is sung.

This, of course, is the correct place for the Communion. But the abuse has crept in of giving Communion to the people immediately before the ablutions. This practice was condemned by the Syr. Synod of Sharfeh in 1888.

In the thirteenth century in the western part of the patriarchate the priest dipped the particles in the chalice held by the deacon and so communicated the people. In the "East" each particle was dipped at the Fraction (Barhebraeus, *Nomocanon*, iv, 5). Of this last the Syr. practice is a modification, the people being given a particle ("pearl") signed with the Blood at the Fraction. I am not aware of the usage of the Jacobites, with whom Communion is rare, but there is only one formula for giving Communion, viz. for the two species together. According to Janin the priest takes a particle out of the chalice with his fingers and gives to the communicant; Fortescue says that the particle is given from the chalice with the spoon. In Malabar it seems clear that the people are or were communicated from the paten.¹

The fact that the paten and chalice are covered when brought down from the altar presupposes the use of a table outside the sanctuary. Such a table is mentioned in the Greek St. James (παράτρπεζον) and is still employed in Malabar, if not elsewhere. There the little table used for the reading of the Gospel is placed in the catastroma with a cross and lights upon it.

The communicants should stand, with hands folded on the breast, but in Malabar they seem to adopt the Indian posture of kneeling with the body resting on the heels (Howard pp. 145—147).

¹ So Howard, pp. 146, 148. His account on the first of these pages of the people being communicated by a "lay-clerk" from a brass vessel of a common Indian pattern, from the spout of which the species of wine was poured into the open mouth, much being spilt in the process, seems difficult to believe. What he saw conceivably may have been a purification. On the second page mentioned he speaks of the reception of the species of wine from a spoon. Neither account tallies with the single formula for Communion in the books.

The Communion being over, the priest again blesses the people as before with the paten, and turning at the gate of the altar, says, "Glory to thee (thrice), O our Lord and our God, for ever. O our Lord Jesus Christ, may thy holy Body which we have eaten and thy propitiatory Blood which we have drunk be unto us not for judgment and vengeance but for life eternal and the salvation of us all, and do thou have mercy upon us." He then returns to the altar and places the Mysteries thereon.

THE THANKSGIVING AND DISMISSAL.

39. The deacon having invited the people with the proclamation "Stand we fairly all of us after that we have eaten," etc., and after the response "We give thanks to thee especially on account of thy benefit towards us," the priest says aloud the Prayer of Thanksgiving with his hands folded on his breast. This is followed by "Peace be to you all," and after a diaconal proclamation by the Prayer of Inclination. The deacon now says "Depart in peace ye who in the name of Christ God are dismissed," to which the people reply "In the name of the Lord our God." The priest then says a variable "seal" (huttomo) or final prayer, and the people or deacon an 'eqbo, such as "By the prayer of thy Mother and of all thy saints, pardon us, O our Lord, and rest our departed. Bless, O my lord." The priest thereafter blesses the people, saying the Commendation (magh'lonutho) "Depart in peace, O our brethren and beloved, whilst we commend you all to the grace and mercies of the Holy Trinity," etc., at which lights are carried.

THE ABLUTIONS AND CONCLUSION.

40. Now follow the ablution of the chalice, spoon, and paten, the details of which, though not the prayers, differ in most of the books. Those given here are from the Syro-Malankara Mass-book of 1934. The veil is drawn—the priest descends from the altar and bowing down or kneeling, says two prayers in secret. He then goes up, uncovers the chalice and paten, puts the spoon in the chalice¹ and communicates himself with any "Coal" remaining, and recites Ps. 23, "The Lord is my shepherd." He then "ministers the Body," consuming what remains of the Host and sweeping the lesser fragments into the chalice with his fingers (among the Jacobites with the gomuro); the accompanying prayer, which is of interest, reads: "If there be any member (sc. particle) remaining, it remaineth in thy knowledge which created the worlds; if there be any member remaining, may

¹ It is here that the Communion sometimes is given to the people.

the Lord be its keeper and be propitious to us and to you." He puts the paten on the altar and "ministers the chalice," consuming what is left of the Blood. He then washes the paten with wine, pours it into the chalice which he washes with it, and drinks. He then puts water in the paten, washes the spoon and star, pours it into the chalice and again drinks; washes in the paten with water the fingers of his right hand, then those of his left, pours the water into the chalice and drinks a third time. This third ablution of the chalice sometimes is drunk by the deacon. Some Jacobite books assign to this ablution the rubric "he drinks from the deaconess the wine which he mixes and gives to the deacon"; others assign the first part of the rubric, omitting mention of the deacon, to the drinking of the first ablution, and a second rubric "he drinks the deaconess" to the last. The reference is to the finger-bowl used for pouring the wine and water, once used for all the ablutions. Water has been substituted throughout in some places by the Jacobites owing to poverty.

After wiping the paten and chalice with the sponge, the priest arranges the sacred vessels and goes to the diaconicon, where he washes his hands, reciting Ps. 26, "Iudica me," and Ps. 29, "Afferte Domino," and takes off his vestments while saying a teshmeshto of the departed, at the 'eqbo of which he puts on his usual outer garment. He then turns to the altar, kisses it in the midst and on either side and says "Remain in peace, O holy and divine altar of the Lord. From henceforth I know not whether I shall return to thee or not. The Lord account me worthy to see thee in the church of the first born which is in heaven and in this covenant do I trust. Remain in peace, O holy and propitiatory altar of the holy Body and propitiatory Blood, which I have received from thee. May it be unto me for pardon of offences and forgiveness of sins and confidence before the dread tribunal of our Lord and our God for ever. Remain in peace, O holy altar, table of life, and intercede for me with our Lord Jesus Christ that my remembrance cease not from thee henceforth and to world without end. Amen."

41. In Lent and on fasts and vigils bread is now blessed and distributed; it is called "blessing" (burk'tho).

The sermon among the Syr. is in its correct place after the Gospel, among the Jacobites after the blessing before the Fraction or after the Elevation and before the priest's Communion.

Jacobite priests present at Mass put on their stoles at the procession before the Trisagion and keep them on until the dismissal.

A *Mass of the Presanctified* (r'shom koso, "signing of the chalice") for use on the ferias of Lent after Vespers, taken

from that of "St. Basil" found in ancient manuscripts, was restored by the late patriarch Mgr. Rahmani and appears in the Missal of 1922. Thence it has passed to the Syro-Malankara Mass-book of 1934. It is obsolete among the modern Jacobites.

42. A few words remain to be said on the subject of a *solemn Mass*. After Ps. 51 the deacon goes up to the altar and carries out the prothesis. The clerks sing the anthems "In thy light" and "Sacred and holy," and the subdeacons light the candles. During the offertory prayer "The memorial of our Lord," the clerks sing the "kathisma of the qurobho" of the day, a short anthem. After the qolo, etc., of the Second Teshmeshto has been sung, the procession with cross and lights goes from the northern door of the screen to the southern, while the Anthem of the qurobho is chanted, the priest carrying the Gospel-book which is incensed by the deacon. On coming back to the altar the book is placed at the northern "horn." Then follow the Trisagion, the zummoro and lessons from the Old Testament read by the subdeacons who carry the candles, another zummoro and the "Praxis," viz., the Acts of the Apostles, or in lieu thereof a lesson from the Catholic Epistles, read by another subdeacon, preceded by a prayer, then the Apostle and the Gospel. Both of the Teshmeshtos thus are sung after the conclusion of the Divine Office. In accordance with the practice of some places the two Teshmeshtos are recited quietly while the Old Testament and the Praxis are read at the gate of the altar on the north side, the singing beginning with the qolo of the second sedhro. A third usage is indicated in the 1843 Syr. Missal, by which the Old Testament is read immediately before the Trisagion and the Praxis after it. This is contrary to the custom described by the old commentators.

During the "sedhro of the entrance of the qurobho" after the Gospel the deacon censes the altar on the two sides, the celebrant, clergy and people, and after the blessing of the incense ("Holy is the holy Father," etc.) censes the people going through the whole nave. The priest washes his hands during the Creed.

During the Anaphora the deacon stands below the altar on the right and censes until the end of the Epiclesis. The fans are shaken when the great veil is lifted, at the Sanctus, the Words of Institution, the Epiclesis, and at least in Malabar at the Trisagion. This is done also at the descent of the Mysteries before the Communion, when the deacon incenses them in front, candles being held by the subdeacons. The ablutions are ministered by the deacon if he has communicated.

H. W. CODRINGTON.

(To be concluded).

THE BISHOP'S JOURNEY IN EGYPT

Some extracts from an account of the Visitation of Mgr. Khouzam, the Catholic Copt Bishop of Thebes, made in September 1935.

Bani-Mohammed. This is a fairly important village of about 13,000 inhabitants situated to the north of Assiut. The authority, advised of our arrival, is anxious to give us an official reception. The Ghafirs (police) are at attention. At our approach a salvo of shots rings out. A procession is formed with banners and cross at the head, and advances slowly to the chant of "Hosanna, blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord," accompanied by the harmonious rhythm of cymbals and triangle, the only liturgical instruments in our Rite. Take no notice of false notes and yells! They are the outcome of good will and each contributes his share. Our Lord, at the entry into Jerusalem, encouraged the good will of the Children of Israel. We go along the principal streets where here and there the massed crowds very respectfully greet the Christian religious authority, for we must mention that this village, as its name indicates, is almost entirely Mohammedan. The Christians are in a small minority, and we Catholics, all poor, count no more than 900 souls. The richest amongst us possess no more than seven feddans. But they command respect and are appreciated as much for their conduct as for their knowledge. In the reception there was nothing but tolerance and curiosity, and especially respect. I need say no more than that I have more than once heard these words: "I am a Catholic Mohammedan."

It took me six days to visit the parish, because each family wanted to see the Bishop in its own home to receive his blessing and to keep in its traditions a glory equal to that of others. Indeed, the visits of his predecessors are frequently and joyfully recalled. We Christians do not live in mansions with all the comfort of the twentieth century. As a matter of fact, each family has only one little room, dark and very low, with the furniture, crockery and mats packed into the corners. It shelters everyone, including the domestic animals, and need I say more? Then don't be astonished to see pale faces, dull eyes and more or less bronzed bodies wasted. They are born in poverty to live in poverty. Blessed are they who weep and who suffer. They are happy for they have the riches of grace. How warm their welcome! How simple their speech! How lofty their thoughts! In spite of all, they live in an atmosphere of piety.

At Bani-Mohammed, the school is the only means of contact. One gets at the parents through the children.

In spite of this poverty which approaches want, the priest by his ability and above all thanks to his privations, has been able to furnish his presbytery and to have what is strictly necessary in his church. I will not mention the Sacristy. I do not know if one could call this poor corner a Sacristy.

Amchoul. After Bani-Mohammed we go to Amchoul. This village is on the bank of the Nile. We get into one of those boats that are probably survivals of the time of Pharaoh. Sitting with our legs crossed on a wretched rug stretched on the old deck, we sail away on the muddy waters of the Nile. The monotonous view of tufts of palm trees emerging here and there on either bank does not attract us. One gets used to it. Happily we had with us a certain singer, a kind of troubadour, who travels from village to village, having for his only instrument a "Rebaba" or very primitive kind of violin made thus: some hairs from a horse's tail stretched on the half of a coconut shell covered with rabbit skin. He goes from door to door singing hymns, psalms and songs of praise, thrumming his instrument on a plaintive note. In order to relieve the monotonies of the journey as well as the heat of the burning sun, he sang for us in his rather raucous and nasal voice the praises of St. Alexis, who died poor in the house of his parents unknown to them. You ought to see the impression that the story of this saint makes on the village folk. They would listen to the words attentively and show their admiration by endless cries of "Ya salam."

At length we went ashore on the road to Amchoul. After the boat came the motor. But there was no road at all, cracks and ditches everywhere, and then what a car! An old bone-shaker, not calculated to inspire confidence. All the same, we had to get in and off we went, lurching, shaken, jostled, tossed up and down, through a cloud of dust. So much the worse for delicate stomachs and sensitive eyes. Twice we just missed rolling into a ditch, and another time I called a halt, for it was much safer to let the car go on alone and to follow on foot. In addition to this, our good chauffeur did not seem to trouble himself at all about our sorry plight. It would have been better to go on donkeys. At last, after an hour's travel, we came to Amchoul. We alighted just before reaching the entrance to the village, thankful to be able to walk.

As soon as we were sighted, gun shots rang out and then cheering: "zagharits" (cries of joy from the women), Hosannas and hurrahs resounded and gave a festal air to the quiet surroundings. This is the way in which these simple folk receive their well-loved Father. Their joy knows no bounds and I can assure you that it is reciprocated. It is impossible not to love these simple, fundamentally good souls.

They kiss the ring, take the Bishop's hand to place it on their heads, touch his cassock respectfully and lift their faces to receive a tap. They are allowed to do it and are given what they want.

Amidst this joyful procession we arrive at the church. Great is our surprise to see it whitewashed. The altar and choir are painted in oils, but the painting is perfect and in good taste. I must confess that I was mystified at this phenomenon. It seems that Father John Gabra (Gabriel) had taken advantage of an opportunity. A painter from a big city happened to call on him on business and he took the unique opportunity of begging him to do this piece of work. He got together all his money and when he had no more, he had recourse to Monsignor's depleted exchequer. We helped him as much as we could. Indeed, considering the work done he had cause for self-congratulation.

The fatigue of the journey had its consolations. At Pontifical Mass we were greatly impressed by the number of communicants. Conversions are sought in this village; they are many and good. The priest is one of the old style; he is a giant, the tallest of our priests, rather awkward in his movements, it is true, but a holy man. In that, believe me, lies the secret of all. In former days, he had greatly mortified himself, and had been imprudent, so much so that he had almost lost his sight. Fortunately, age makes us more reasonable! I have had occasion to make the round of his parish; fifty houses scattered among four hundred. There is reason to hope that the number of Catholics will increase. A grand harvest is ready but the labourers are few. In each house I blessed a little water and sprinkled everyone, even the cattle—especially the cattle, which consists of a goat and a cow! But it is all their wealth.

Mincha. A village on the outskirts of the Lybian desert. Also a very painful journey! Say what you like, these places are not made for motors. It is still in the style of Thut-Ankh-Amon, so I was convinced that these modern vehicles would not be found. I was glad to lay my hands on a lovely donkey with his ears well erect. I had hardly started to mount when "honk-honk," a cloud of dust, a loud noise . . . the cars are there. Reluctantly I leave my good beast to take the car. Off we go in a series of shakes, bounds, jerks to right and left. There are ditches—look out, we're nearly done for! No, I am sure that our angel guardians did more than the poor chauffeur to avoid accidents. This lasts an hour. At last there is a good road. Another hour and we are there.

The people seem to have been gathered at the entrance to the village for quite a long while. As soon as we are sighted, they bestir themselves, shout, and in the midst of a

cloud of dust and sand, form a procession in front of us. We proceed slowly while the school children shout rather than sing : " *Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini.*" Long live the Pope ! Long live Mgr. Khouzam ! We wend our way towards the church. The roads are narrow and zig-zag. I do not know if the sun often penetrates into these dark and damp streets. At last we come to the church ! After a short thanksgiving we address the assembled faithful squatting on the ground. They are happy. We bless them.

The church is indeed very small for the number of Catholics—about 800. It is stifling. Besides being on beaten ground it threatens to fall down. As for the presbytery, it is very wretched. The rector, a holy priest, a *curé d'Ars* indeed in flesh and blood, Father Sama'an, has only one room however much he may wish to spread himself about. With the neighbours' permission, he has thrown some beams on the walls of the church and of the house opposite, and on this new kind of bridge, two and a half metres above the street, he has managed to make a little room ; one window to the east, another to the west, and there he considers himself in quite a mansion. This dovecot is reached by a break-neck staircase, for being of beaten earth, it crumbles, which makes its steps impossible. One has to jump or stride, the chief thing being to get there. It is the principal dwelling and reception room. Modern engineers would have proved by trigonometry that the house was sinking or crumbling. Mud, however, the cement bound by our ancestors, has properties of resistance of which they are not aware.

On the day after our arrival the visitation and blessing of the houses began. The rector accompanied us to lead the way. Almost at once he is stopped. A child of two or three greets him " *Saïda ya Abouna Sama'an,*" and the Father, tall as he is, stoops down and gives his hand to this scrap of humanity. He greets him quite seriously as he would a grown-up person. He has a regard for everyone and a kind word to say in each house. He is gentle, cheerful and has a weakness for children ; they are his favourites. Indeed, I have never seen so many children as there are in this village ; above all, never have I seen them so at home with nor so respectful to the rector. They give him back kindness for kindness, and respect for respect. There was a strange charm in the lovely and touching sight of the conversation between the Father and these little ones. The Father exerts great influence through the children. I was told that once he wanted to reconcile a woman to her husband. He succeeded in persuading her, thanks to the words of her child, a little four-year-old, whom she had with her. For, seeing the Father arguing in vain, he said as if inspired : " *Abouna, to cause*

you no trouble, and still more to please you, we will go back to father." Another time, when he was ill, his room was invaded by little children from three to five years old. This gives you some idea of dear Father Sama'an's charm. Every house is open to him. On entering, he calls the inhabitants by these words : " Ya ahl Allah," Oh ! favourite companions of God.

For my part, I could not distinguish a Catholic house from any other kind. Everywhere I met the same earnestness, the same happy atmosphere. They laid hold of us as we passed : " Come in and bless us ! Come in ! Tread on the floor of our house." We offered no resistance. On the invitation of the Orthodox priest I went to see his church.

One thing, however, troubled me. That was the distress of the children. Many had sore eyes, many had only one eye, and many were blind. I gave advice to several on keeping the eyes clean. They did not seem to understand. To keep the children clean and pretty is to expose them to the danger of the Evil Eye. Besides, Nature provides more or less for cleanliness. At flood-time the children have no greater pleasure than to spend three-quarters of the day in the water.

Once I received a visit from a child who was almost blind. He said to me : " Would you like me to sing you a hymn to Our Lady, Monsignor ? I will do so willingly." Then he began to sing the praises of our good Mother in a musical, angelic and plaintive voice. It was a sinner's lament to the Blessed Virgin, his good Mother. Several people could not restrain their tears, so greatly were they moved. Poor child, he lost his sight through the carelessness and negligence of his mother ; he will live by his singing, going from house to house and from village to village, praising God with his hymns.

Confessions are heard on Saturday evening. The rector shuts himself up in the confessional. What a narrow prison for the poor man ! He simply must have another one. Seeing that it would go on for some hours, I sent him in turn two priests, my companions, to help him in his task. It was no use—the sheep wanted only their shepherd. They hardly confessed ten or twelve people. The poor man stays until half-past nine in the evening. Early in the morning he is at his post in the confessional. I celebrated and finished High Mass. I looked for him three-quarters of an hour after Mass ; he was still in the confessional. I counted 198 communions. The rector does not say much to me, for the population is at the cotton harvest. They are in a hurry, for the Nile may flood at any time.

During my stay at Mencha the population sent me a depu-

tation. This is the substance of their petition : " Monsignor has seen how small our church is, 8m. by 2m. It cannot hold us, for there are 850 of us. Further, it is made of bricks dried in the sun, and threatens collapse all round. You yourself, Monsignor, thought that it ought to be pulled down in order that a new one might be built with a suitable presbytery. We have come to ask you to keep your promise. We are ready to club together to help you according to our means." In face of this address, the points of which are all true, I can make only an evasive reply. Of course I see the need for rebuilding both the church and the presbytery. The present priest is willing to live there, but I could not force it upon another. He must have a home to which he can withdraw in this remote and forlorn village. But to do that £600 at least would be needed to build a school and a church. This sum is quite beyond us, for the exchequer is not only empty but in debt. Must we lose hope? Even a little would be acceptable. I have suggested to the rector that he should pray and have prayers said every day for this intention. He promised me that he would. I have no doubt that his frequent visits to the Blessed Sacrament will obtain this favour for us.

Koussiah. After Mencha we went on to Koussiah. This is one of our better parishes. Some years ago, in 1929, the rector showed me the little place which served as school and church. People fainted there on very hot days. The Catholic population was rising to 400 souls. I told the Reverend Father then to pray and to make the school children pray every day that God would send sufficient to erect a new building. He did it faithfully. Some time afterwards, a letter came to me from Rome as follows : " On the occasion of his Jubilee, His Holiness is putting at your disposal the amount needed to rebuild the church at Koussiah." It was a happy day at Koussiah when they heard the news. To-day there is a big church 25m. by 10m. It is light, airy and clean. There the rector is entirely at the service of souls, he knows no other. Catechism, sermons, visits to parishioners—his life is regular. Before Mass in the morning, he is in the confessional awaiting those who wish to receive absolution. Mass is at 6.15 in order to allow workers to hear it before going to work. During my stay the average number of communions each week was 50. This is splendid when one realises that the Catholic population is 610, with an average of 40 conversions a year. The young people are wonderful in their devotion and in their zeal. They have divided themselves into two groups to form a society of St. Vincent de Paul and a Catholic Youth Association. The latter are charged with the task of improving the method of carrying

out the religious observances. They have learnt Coptic and the church music. The music at the Pontifical Mass which I celebrated was splendid. They also help the rector by keeping order in the church and silence during the ceremonial. It is this which strikes one most on entering the church at Koussiah, for in spite of the many babies in their mothers' arms, there is complete silence. There is a fine spirit of co-operation and self-sacrifice. Thanks to that, the young folk maintain a patronage, take the catechism and devote themselves to their families. They draw their strength from daily communion. On the Saturday evening this group of young people gathered together for a meeting and to express their filial affection for their Bishop and for the rector. Our stay ended with Pontifical Mass at which 218 people communicated. Congratulations were due to the rector.

Dear benefactors, this pastoral journey has, to a certain extent, made these villages of Upper Egypt real to you. You have been able to see for yourselves what Catholic charity can accomplish. "Caritas Christi urget nos." You have got a clear idea of the devotion, self-renunciation, heroism; indeed, one must say that you have come into touch with the divine. This cross is not in effigy, it is in the priest, it is the priest.

No doubt, after these fine examples, you are moved with compassion and with a desire for self-dedication. Would that you could follow the example of the earliest Christians who sacrificed their goods for the glory of the Gospel and the propagation of the Faith. They put everything into the hands of the Apostles and entrusted themselves to Providence, who cares for the sparrow and the flower of the field. So the harvest was great. Let us, in our turn, give what we have received, as gifts of faith. Let us be apostles in helping these missionaries by our spiritual as well as by our material alms. With them let us form one heart and one soul. "Adveniat Regnum Tuum."

NEWS AND COMMENTS

ROME.

Statistics in regard to students of the different Oriental Rites studying in Rome in 1935.

In the Greek College under the care of the Belgian Benedictines there are 22 students.

In the Ruthenian College under the direction of the Basilian Fathers there are 55 students from Galicia, Sub-Carpathian Russia and America.

In the Rumanian College, only opened at the close of 1935, there are 14 students.

In the Russian College under the Jesuit Fathers there are 24. In the Maronite, also under the Jesuit Fathers, are 12 students.

In the Armenian College there are 32 students.

In the Ethiopian College under the Belgian Capuchin Fathers in normal times there are 30 students.

The Syrian students for the present reside at the Propaganda College.

Most of the students go for their lectures either to the Propaganda or the Gregorian Universities.

There are also various religious of Eastern Rites prosecuting their studies in Rome—Armenian Mekhitarists, 14; Benedictines of Amay, 4; Greek Basilians, 7; Ruthenian Basilians, 10; 2 Capuchins and 7 Jesuits of the Byzantine Rite.

Besides these colleges there is the Oriental Institute for post-graduate courses where there are 42 students, two of whom at present are Orthodox Russians. Since its opening in 1917 (it was founded by Pope Benedict XV) up to the present date there have been six Orthodox students at the Institute. One looks forward to the time when there will be many more, for surely this is one of the best ways to prepare the ground for Reunion.

BENEDICTINES AND REUNION.

ST. PROCOPIUS ABBEY, LISLE, Ill.

In response to the letter that the Holy Father addressed to the Abbot Primate of the Federated Congregations of the Monks of St. Benedict (dated 21st March, 1924), the community of the Czech Benedictine Abbey of St. Procopius in America voted to work in accordance with the wishes of the Pope, *i.e.*, to work for the reunion of the dissident Slavs with the Catholic Church. The work was begun at St. Procopius in 1927, but it is only recently that steps have been taken to organize a monastery of the Byzantine Rite with the intention of sending monks to labour in Slav lands, xespecially in the Near East. There also should be plenty of scope for their work in the States and Canada.

In April of this year the Abbey published the first issue of what is to be a monthly magazine. It is a bilingual periodical, one page being in Slav and, on the opposite one, an English translation. The name chosen is *The Voice of the Church* and its main object is that East and West may understand each other.

It will not be out of place here to mention the other Benedictine Monastery that was the direct outcome of the Holy Father's appeal of 1924—the Priory of Amay-sur-Meuse in Belgium. As is well known, this community devote them-

selves to the cause of Reunion by means of prayer, study and hospitality, and their periodical *Irenikon* is now read throughout the Christian East alike by Catholics and Dissidents.

Yet another Benedictine work, which however began in 1903, is that which is being carried on among the Catholics of the Syrian Rite, with its monastery on the Mount of Olives. Since 1930 the Fathers have been in charge of the patriarchal seminary. Last November the first Syrian priest, Father Stephen Rahhal, made his profession as a Benedictine monk of the Antiochene Rite, and it is hoped that many more Syrians will enter the monastic state so as the better to work for Reunion among the Jacobites.

To emphasize the fact that work for Reunion with the Eastern Churches is specially suitable to Benedictines, we quote from the Pope's letter referred to above :—" In this great matter of restoring Unity, whom could we more fitly choose as apostles than the hard-working monks of the West, who have always deserved so well of the Christian Church and State. Established in the West by St. Benedict (whom the Eastern Churches have ever venerated as the Patriarch of Western Monks) the Monastic Order took its rise in the East ; and was already greatly flourishing long before the sad separation of churches in the eleventh century ; and even to this day it retains faithfully the teachings of the Fathers, zeal for the Sacred Liturgy and the fundamental elements of primitive monachism ; all of which circumstances give to the Benedictines a special aptitude for the apostolate of reconciliation with our separated brethren."

In addition to the above activities, Benedictine monks are in charge of the Greek College in Rome, and in many other monasteries of the Order monks are engaged in work for the Christian East.

U.S.A.

An *Eastern Churches Guild* has been formed in New York. This consists for the most part of students from the Catholic Colleges in the City. Father Cuthbert Gumbinger, O.F.M. Cap., professor of the Capuchin Seminary of Mary Immaculate, Glenclyffe, Garrison, N.Y., and who has studied at the Oriental Institute in Rome, is the *advisor* of the Guild.

The aim of this society of students is to acquire a better understanding of their Catholic heritage and to prepare the way for the Reunion of the Eastern and the Western Churches.

EASTERN STUDY CIRCLES AT THE ABBEY OF NIEDERALTAICH.

From March 18th to the 21st a group of theological students met in the Benedictine Abbey of Niederaltaich to keep a prolonged "dies Orientalis." Papers were read on Eastern asceticism and liturgical subjects, and discussions followed.

On each day, except on March 21st when the Abbot of Metten sang the Mass of St. Benedict, the Ukranian priest from Berlin, Dr. Werhun, celebrated the Byzantine Liturgy in Slavonic.

For many of the students it was their first experience of the Byzantine Liturgy. About 40 students, many of whom were members of religious orders, took part in this meeting which promises well for future years.

Such study circles as this and the one in New York referred to above are but examples of many similar efforts that are being organised in conformity with the Pope's letter, "Rerum Orientalium."

THE ANGLICAN-RUMANIAN AGREEMENT.

We quote below from the *Church Times* of May 22nd the agreement arrived at as a result of the conference between representatives of the Rumanian Church and the Anglican communion referred to in our last issue.

"There was full agreement concerning the Holy Eucharist. The following statement was submitted by the Rumanians and unanimously accepted by the Anglicans:—

1. At the Last Supper, our Lord Jesus Christ anticipated the sacrifice of His death by giving Himself to the Apostles in the form of bread blessed by Him as meat, and in the form of wine blessed by Him as drink.

2. The sacrifice offered (προσενεχθείσα) by our Lord on Calvary was offered once for all, expiates the sins as well of the living as of the dead, and reconciles us with God. Our Lord Jesus Christ does not need to sacrifice Himself again.

3. The sacrifice on Calvary is perpetually presented in the Holy Eucharist in a bloodless fashion (ἀναιμάκτως) under the form (Rumanian, sub chipul) of bread and wine through the consecrating priest and through the work of the Holy Ghost in order that the fruits of the sacrifice of the Cross may be partaken of by those who offer the Eucharistic Sacrifice, by those for whom it is offered, and by those who receive worthily the Body and Blood of the Lord.

4. In the Eucharist the bread and wine become by consecration (μεταβολή) the Body and Blood of our Lord. How? This is a mystery.

5. The Eucharistic bread and wine remain the Body and Blood of our Lord as long as these Eucharistic elements exist.

6. Those who receive the Eucharistic bread and wine truly partake of the Body and Blood of our Lord.

With regard to Holy Scripture, the following was accepted by both delegations :—

‘The Revelation of God is transmitted through the Holy Scriptures and the Holy Tradition. Everything necessary for salvation can be founded upon Holy Scripture, as completed, explained, interpreted and understood in the Holy Tradition, by the guidance of the Holy Spirit residing in the Church. We agree that by Holy Tradition we mean the truths which come down from our Lord and the Apostles and have been defined by the Holy Councils or are taught by the Fathers, which are confessed unanimously and continuously in the Undivided Church and are taught by the Church under the guidance of the Holy Spirit.

We agree that nothing contained in Tradition is contrary to the Scriptures. Though these two may be logically defined and distinguished, yet they cannot be separated from each other nor from the Church.’

There was some hesitation concerning the Sacraments, and it was felt that on this subject a further Conference is desirable. Finally, the Anglican Delegation agreed unanimously to recommend for consideration the following formula :—

‘We agree that Baptism and the Holy Eucharist, the first as introducing us into the Church, the second as uniting us with Christ and through Him with the Invisible Church, are pre-eminent among the Divine Mysteries. We agree that, because Holy Scripture and Tradition witness to their origin, Confirmation, Absolution, the Marriage Blessing, Holy Orders, and the Unction of the Sick are also Mysteries in which, an outward visible sign being administered, an inward spiritual grace is received.’

The Rumanian Commission agreed to recommend this formula to the Holy Synod of Rumania for consideration.

The Orthodox Commission and the Anglican Delegation agreed unanimously upon the following statement :—

‘By the redeeming action of our Lord Jesus Christ, mankind has become reconciled to God. Man partakes of the redeeming grace through faith and good works, and reaches through the working of the Holy Ghost, the Lord and Giver of Life, sanctification by means of the Church and the Holy Sacraments.’

The following statement was agreed to by both parties :—

‘ Having considered the conclusions of the papers on the Apostolic Succession, Holy Orders, Holy Eucharist, Holy Mysteries in general, and Tradition and Justification,

‘ The Rumanian Commission made the following Declaration :—

Having considered the declarations of the Anglican Delegation on these questions, which declarations are in accordance with the Doctrine of the Orthodox Church, the Rumanian Orthodox Commission unanimously recommends the Holy Synod (of the Rumanian Orthodox Church) to recognize the validity of the Anglican Orders.’

The Anglican Delegation received the Declaration with due acknowledgment.”

This means that on the approval of the Holy Synod and subject to the agreement of all the sister Orthodox autocephalous Churches, the Rumanian Orthodox Church will accept Anglican Ordinations as valid by *Economy*, so that in particular circumstances of emergency or isolation it would be permissible for particular Rumanian Orthodox to receive Communion and the other Sacraments at the hands of Anglican clergy and vice versa. They would not be free to go to the Anglican Sacraments as a normal procedure, for such “*communicatio in sacris*” can only be between Churches that are in absolute dogmatic agreement. We quote from Canon Douglas :—“ *Economic* recognition might be given to our Orders by the Eastern Orthodox and the closest ties of intimacy might be created between us, but without full dogmatic union. Intercommunion between the Churches would no more be possible than eighty years ago when Muravieff told Palmer that ‘ To an individual the Church can concede nothing ; and no one can communicate except with an unconditional acceptance of all that she teaches and practises.’ It cannot be reiterated with too great emphasis that the Eastern-Orthodox Churches can in no wise whatever contemplate Intercommunion, a relation which in principle is the same thing as Reunion, with a Church or with individual members of a Church that is not in dogmatic agreement with them.” (*The Relations of the Anglican Churches with the Eastern Orthodox*. p. 96).

This *economic* recognition of Anglican Orders by the Rumanians rests on the above quoted dogmatic agreement: they had been previously satisfied on the historical question. While we must always rejoice in every effort to bring Christians together based on the sound doctrine concerning the Sacraments, we may nevertheless be permitted to ask ourselves whether Parker or Barlow, Scory or Coverdale would have

signed this agreement ; or for that matter whether the greater number of the clergy of the Church of England would preach and teach such doctrines to their flocks. Although our test regarding the validity of Holy Orders is other than that of the Orthodox, yet we consider it in the interest of any future attempt at true Dogmatic Union that both the past history and the present state of the Anglican Communion should be still more carefully investigated by the Orthodox.

The following gives the opinions of some Anglican bishops at the Convocation of Canterbury on the Report of the Rumanian Commission.

The Bishop of Rochester expressed general approval of the aim of the Report, speaking from the point of view of an Evangelical who was just as keen about reunion with the episcopal as with the non-episcopal communions.

The Bishop of Birmingham said that he and many of his Evangelical friends in the Church of England could not endorse many of the statements contained in the Report, though he would accept inter-communion with the Church of Rumania, just as he would accept it with the Methodists or the Church of Scotland.

The Bishop of St. Albans pointed out that the Report had only been in the hands of members of the Convocation within the past few weeks, and asked that more time might be given them before they came to a decision on an important matter.

The Bishop of Lincoln was anxious that there should be no suggestion of ungraciousness on the part of the English Church towards the Rumanian Church ; but agreed to withdraw his motion (he had asked the House to accept and approve the Report) in favour of the following, proposed by the Bishop of Southwark, seconded by the Bishop of Truro, and carried :—

That the House, while adjourning further consideration of the Report, expresses its thanks to the members of the Rumanian Commission and of the Anglican delegation for preparing it, and trusts that it may lead to yet closer relations with the Rumanian Church and other branches of the Orthodox Communion.

Prebendary Hinde (London) said that he could not but be uneasy about the resolution, though it was a very hard resolution to oppose. Reunion could only come about with a clear understanding of one another. He was not sure that the Rumanian Church understood what the Anglican Church believed. Surely the Rumanian Church should have more acquaintance with the doctrine of the Church of England. The statements contained in the Report were not compatible with the Prayer Book and the Thirty-Nine Articles. He could

not accept the statements about the Eucharist. He felt when he read the Report what Frank Weston must have felt when he wanted to indict the Bishops of Uganda and Mombasa for heresy. For what does the Church of England stand? He felt like indicting the Bishop of Lincoln for heresy.

Canon Guy Rogers (Birmingham) said that it would not be fair to think that Prebendary Hinde stood in a solitary position. There was a tendency to present the teaching of the Church of England in a way pleasing to the Rumanians, but which was not compatible with the teaching of the Church of England. The terms for intercommunion must not be on terms which would please the Rumanians but do not please us.

The Rev. C. E. Douglas (Southwark) hotly contested the statement that had been put forward that the Evangelical view, point had been hidden; on the contrary, it had, in his opinion, been overstated. The Anglican Commission had on it as members the Archbishop of Dublin, Primate of the most Protestant branch of the Anglican Church, and Dr. MacDonald, a distinguished Evangelical, who was on the staff of the *Record*, and this Commission had unanimously accepted the terms. The statement about the Eucharist had been put forward by the Rumanians and accepted by the Anglicans as a doctrine that might be legitimately held.

(From *The Church Times*, May 29th and June 5th, 1936).

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

DEAR SIR,

The object for which your very excellent Review exists is to create among English speaking Catholics a sympathetic interest in the Oriental Churches, with a view to helping on the movement towards re-union with the Holy See.

It is extremely difficult to foster an interest in something that the general Catholic public hears little about, and never sees anything at all.

May I suggest that if a chapel or chapels in Westminster Cathedral were set apart for the celebration of the Liturgy according to the Oriental Rites, they would become more real to Catholics in a few weeks, than would be the case after years of writing about something far removed from experience.

The descriptions in the Catholic Press, would be of something in their midst and a praiseworthy curiosity would tend to counter the apathy.

I suggest that this would also work for good in regard to the Dissidents. Visitors to England belonging to those Rites would attend, and see their own Rites carried out in union with the Western Church and the Apostolic See.

Most people are influenced more by the concrete than by the abstract, and I suggest that the effect would be incalculable.

Something of the kind has been done in Paris with regard to the Russian Rite with very good effect.

I know that there are difficulties of organisation, but surely room could be found for some exiled Uniate priests, to say nothing of visitors.

A big international institution like the great Franciscan Order, which has intimate contact with the East, could render great assistance.

Yours truly,

52, WEAR BAY CRESCENT,
FOLKESTONE, KENT.

H. TATHAM.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

Byzantine Art. By D. Talbot Rice. (O.U.P. 1935). 12s. 6d.

The differing aims of Eastern and Western art are well brought out by the citation of the opinion of an eminent Russian Orthodox of the last century, Bustaieff, to whom Italian art seemed "morally decadent, grossly material, and nauseatingly sentimental." Indeed Byzantine art has an intellectual vigour from which we might well learn. Its achievement is summed up in paradoxes: by rigidity of line it conveys an intense power for movement, which is frittered away in the flowing lines of naturalist "movement"; by an extraordinary richness of detail, it achieves an even more extraordinary simplicity of general effect (which marks it as the product of a sophisticated civilization); by eschewing naturalist portraiture and depiction of scenes, it conveys, unimpeded, the essence of character, and the spiritual and intellectual content of scenes. Whereas naturalism introduces a wealth of extraneous considerations, such as the beauty of the model, Byzantine art is intolerant, as visual arts should be, of "suggestion," and poetic concepts. It lavishes beauty and richness in the material used, but that forms no intellectual distraction.

The author begins, as should every good scholar, by trying to define his terms: what is *Byzantine* art? He shows, and the book shows to an extraordinary degree, from what diverse elements that artistic unit was formed. How could such opposed systems as Hellenist idealism, or the naturalism and impressionism of Rome, coalesce with Syrian "realism" and the Semitic non-representational element to form a single whole? Therein lay the genius of the Byzantine, as of any great mind, that, learning from many sources, it built from them a new unity.

An archæological study of iconography or other material

almost leaves the impression that no such unity exists, for it is primarily æsthetic; nor was it arrived at in a day. The early, pre-iconoclast centuries show a certain parallelism of development, with only here and there the true fusion of different elements, so those authorities are unwise who confine the term *Byzantine* to these first centuries. Limits of time and space are unsatisfactory, as might have been more emphasized. It is natural that within such wide spacial and time limits as those of the Byzantine Empire from the foundation of Constantinople in 330 to its fall in 1433 (with an artistic continuation to the present day), there should be many productions which lie outside the main line of development.

The book has not entirely achieved coherence from its own diverse elements of artistic criticism and archæological information. The information amassed from the authorities—Diehl, Dalton, Muratoff, Stryzowski, and the rest—is a little unwieldy. The author is sometimes rather like Belloc and Chesterton's judge saying "all there is on this side, and all there is on that," as regards disputed origins, with resulting confusion to the reader.

He concentrates chiefly on the interplay of the four or five originally different elements as he deals with each art by turn, but he intersperses it with illuminating artistic comment such as that on eikons (p. 116): "Like the liturgy, it repeats certain well-known forms; like an oft seen play of Shakespeare, familiarity only helps us to appreciate it the more. These icons exhibit the greatest possible contrast to Italian painting; they are metallic, electric; high lights are picked out in bright colours, where a Westerner would shade; brightly contrasting colours are laid on, and achieve a true colouristic effect; seldom are they in the nature of coloured drawings; there is no attempt at chiaroscuro."

There are interesting side lights on the influence of one art upon another, such as the way in which the development of the dome and vault aided the popularity of mosaic, which is best suited to carved surfaces, and to a building of complicated plan, which gives play to reflected lights; whereas the evenly distributed light of a basilica is most unsatisfactory for mosaic work.

The book is good as to formal plan: introductory chapters on this historical and geographical background, together with the artistic origins, followed by the main body of the book dealing with each form of art by turn, the sections in order of importance and chronologically within each section, considered first in general, and then in the surviving monuments. The concluding chapters deal with the influence on other countries. The illustrations are chosen to give the public less well known examples of the art, recently discovered or

published. It is questionable whether a representative choice would not have been better in a more or less "popular" general survey. The chapter and general bibliographies are satisfactory; the production is excellent, alike in letterpress and illustrations.

E.J.B.F.

The Monks of Athos. By R. M. Dawkins, M.A., F.B.A. (Allen & Unwin). 15s. net.

This is the third book recently published in English about the monks of Mount Athos. Mr. R. H. Brewster's *Six Thousand Beards of Athos* was hardly a serious (though very readable) work, while the *Black Angels of Athos* of Mr. Michael Choukas was so deadly serious that it was giggle-making; now Professor Dawkins comes along with a work of permanent value on the subject, which as director of the British School of Archæology at Athens he was peculiarly well placed to study.

As the history, buildings and other art of the Holy Mountain have been sufficiently well covered, Professor Dawkins deals with the principal of the legends and traditions still current there, sorting them out, tracing them to their source, and comparing them when possible with the actual events that gave rise to them. The result is a book of great interest and of as great value as a contribution to Athonite historical literature. Some exceedingly interesting side-lights on life on Athos to-day are afforded incidentally throughout the book, and we thoroughly recommend it to readers of this review. There are a dozen or more pictures, half-tone and line.

Professor Dawkins writes of his subject with the sympathy of a scholar and a humanist; there is none of the boring "naughtiness" of the *Six Thousand Beards* or of the no less boring sociological speculations of Choukas. We see Athos for what it is, a stronghold, perhaps *the* stronghold, of traditional post-schism Orthodoxy, strongly anti-Latin, with no idea of Catholicity, incurably suspicious of that Western rationality of which it needs a dose as strongly as the West needs more of the East's "mysticism" and indifference to material "progress."

D.D.A.

THE ANGLICAN AND EASTERN CHURCHES ASSOCIATION
PAMPHLETS

(S.P.C.K., Northumberland Avenue, W.C.2).

The eight pamphlets in the present series are intended to supply the general public with information about the Eastern Churches. They all have special reference to the Orthodox Church and are conceived on excellent lines. The publications may be roughly divided into two classes—those which simply give information and those which are to some extent controversial.

In the first class we place—

Teaching on the Sacraments in the Eastern Orthodox Church. (3d.). This is from "The Holy Catechism" of Nicolas Bulgariis.

A Greek Church and its Furnishing. By Euphrosyne Kephala. (3d.).

Ikons, and how they were made. By R. M. French. (4d.)

These are all excellent, the two last full of information and, as their titles suggest, complementary, although there is some inevitable overlapping.

But the most interesting by far, not only of this class but of the whole series, is:—

St. Seraphim of Sarov concerning the aim of the Christian Life, translated with an introduction by A. E. Dobbie-Bateman (1s. 6d.). The introduction, which is more than half the book, is in reality a short life of this modern Russian Orthodox Saint who was born in 1759, died in 1833, and was canonised among the Russian Orthodox on the 19th July, 1903. It is the life of a monk, a hermit and a wonder-worker. He was steeped in the prayer of the Liturgy, went frequently to Holy Communion and was constant in the practice of the *Prayer of Jesus*—this was the path by which he attained to holiness of life. The last part of the book is Seraphim's admonition concerning the aim of the Christian life in the form of a conversation with one Nicholas Motovilov. In this Seraphim goes very near to setting out the Catholic doctrine of Merit.—"God the Word, the God-Man, our Lord Jesus Christ, likens our life to a market, and the work of our life on earth He calls buying, and says to us all: Buy till I come, redeeming the time, because the days are evil. That is to say, economise the time for receiving heavenly blessings through earthly goods. Earthly goods are virtuous acts performed for Christ's sake and conferring on us the grace of the Holy Spirit, without Whom there is not and cannot be any salvation" (p. 45). . . . "Acquire, my son, the grace of the Holy Spirit by all the other virtues in Christ; trade in those that are most profitable to you. Accumulate the capital of the grace-giving abundance of God's mercy. Deposit in God's eternal bank, which brings you unearthly interest, not four or six per cent., but one hundred per cent., for one spiritual shilling and even more, infinitely more. Thus, if prayer and watching give you more of God's grace, pray and watch: if fasting gives much of God's Spirit, fast; if almsgiving gives more, give alms. In such manner decide about every virtue in Christ" (p. 47). Both the life of Seraphim and his spiritual advice give us an experience of all that was meant by the term Holy Russia.

The books belonging to the controversial class are :—

Our Ideas and Ideals, by C. B. Moss. (6d.). This sets forth in a quite straightforward way the Association's idea of Reunion. It also very fairly states the immense difference of outlook between the Church of England and the Orthodox Church, and yet it fails to see that much of this difference is the outcome of a difference in fundamental faith and tradition, and not only a difference of national outlook.

Our Debt to the Eastern Churches, by the same. (3d.).

The Orthodox Church. (6d.).

These are both in their own way propagandist pamphlets. The last mentioned contains several papers by different authors. *The Church of Greece*, *The Russian Church*, *The Churches of Roumania*, *Jugo-Slavia and Bulgaria* are treated of by the Rev. P. Usher, the Right Rev. W. H. Frere, and the Rev. R. M. French respectively. All three are very inadequate historical sketches, the last being the least open to criticism. The first three sections of this pamphlet are by the Rev. Canon J. A. Douglas and they are entitled thus :— *Its (i.e., the Orthodox Church's) importance in world Christianity ; Its historic importance ; Its witness against Rome*. Much of what is said in this section is very true and to the point, but in many places it has the mark of the worst kind of controversy, its attack on Rome being largely by insinuation and omission, thus conveying to the reader only half truths.

The pamphlet of this class that we have left to the last is :—

The relations of the East and West since the Great Schism, by Ivan R. Young (4d.). We must needs class this publication as propagandist, but it is of quite a different type from those mentioned above. It is naturally written from the Anglican point of view but it gives a very fair and complete treatment of the case, even the much maligned Council of Florence being given full consideration. The pamphlet of course gives a sketch of the history of Anglo-Orthodox relations.

As a whole the pamphlets are useful and should be of interest to Catholics who wish to study the question of Reunion, but Donald Attwater's *The Eastern Churches* (2d., C.T.S.), should be read as an antidote to the Association's *The Orthodox Church*.

B.W.

The Causes of Christian Disunion. A pamphlet. (Burns, Oates & Washbourne). 6d.

Fr. Vincent McNabb has done the cause of Unity (both in regard to the Eastern Churches and to Anglicanism) a valuable service in giving us the Legatine address composed by Cardinal Pole and delivered at the second session of the Council of Trent. Few men have had a right to feel more

embittered than Reginald Pole; few could more readily be forgiven for reviling those who had brought about their persecution, and that of their loved ones, than could Pole, but we find him delivering an address which is a masterpiece of charity and wisdom. Had the holy and wise Cardinal's words been taken more deeply to heart, it is possible that it would not have been necessary to dedicate the pamphlet, as Fr. McNabb has done, to an Archbishop of Canterbury not in communion with the Holy See four hundred years later.

Self-congratulatory Catholics should receive benefit by the timely reminder that the trials of the Church in the sixteenth century were not imposed from without, but found their origin and nurturing ground in faithless and luke-warm Catholics.

J.G.

The Necessity for Catholic Reunion. By the Rev. T. Whitton, M.A. (Williams & Norgate, Ltd., London, W.C.1). pp. 163. 5s.

Although this book was published in 1933 and the author has since been reconciled with the Church, we do not hesitate to say that it is one of the most useful books on the question of Anglicans and Reunion that exists to-day.

Many Catholics think and say that the pro-Roman group in the Church of England keeps people out of the Catholic Church and so should be discouraged. One might as well say that the Bible does the same and that Bible reading should cease. The fact is that both the pro-Roman group and the Anglo-Orthodox group are each in their own way leading our fellow countrymen in the direction of Catholic Truth.

The best way of appreciating the book, we think, is simply to give some of the headings of the chapters:—The Necessity; The Roman View; The Anglican View; The Orthodox Eastern Church; The Difficulties of Anglicanism; The Anglican Catholic Party; etc.

The book can be read with great profit by Catholic and non-Catholic alike.

B.W.

Christianity at Home. By the Rev. A. Gille. (Calcutta Orphan Press.) 8 annas.

A dozen years ago, when he was still editing the *Catholic Herald of India* with a fine vigour, Father Gille went a journey among the ancient Catholics of the Syro-Chaldean rite in Malabar and wrote this short popular account of his experiences. It is as interesting and actual to-day as it was then, especially in its insistence on an "Indian Church" for India. What Father Gille says of the possibility of spreading the Chaldean rite (and now, since 1931, the Antiochene rite, too) in India is most important; not least because they would, better than the Latin rite, meet the demand for a vernacular

liturgy, which is bound to be made in India (and in China, Japan and perhaps elsewhere) sooner or later. Among several specially wise remarks of Father Gille we note the following ever-timely reminder about the "true function of religious orders in mission work." "They are there to build, but not for themselves; they erect a diocese for the Church, not a perpetual mansion for a society or a congregation; and they organize a local diocese, not a European colony."

We take this opportunity of again drawing the attention of our readers to Fr. Bernard's *Brief Sketch of the History of the St. Thomas Christians*, obtainable from St. Joseph's Press, Mannanam, Travancore (8 annas). It includes some valuable translations of documents bearing on the troubled period in Malabar after the coming of the Portuguese. D.D.A.

Christus Rex—the Quarterly Review of the Servants of Christ the King. (Mount Olivet, Frensham, Farnham, Surrey). Single copies, 3d.

The Lady-Day issue is the first number since the reconciliation of the Brothers with the Catholic Church and an account of this event is set forth in *Community Notes*. The aims of *Christus Rex* are given very fully in the article "The Apostolate of Unity."

One feature of the quarterly is the amount of space given over to the reviewing of books.

Apart from an account of the work of the Community, *Christus Rex* is devoted to propagating the ideas set forth by the Pope in his encyclical instituting the feast of Christ the King. A second issue appeared on June 24th. B.W.

Adoremus in Aeternum. (Desclée & Cie, Tournai. Obtainable from Rushworth & Dreaper, Liverpool). Price 2d., or 14s. 6d. per 100.

A little publication which should do much towards raising the musical "tone" of our Benediction Services has just appeared in the form of nine plainsong settings to the Anthem *Adoremus in Aeternum*. These, which have been arranged by a monk of Ramsgate, do not claim to be original compositions, but are skilful adaptations of existing, and mostly well-known, melodies. There is one setting for each of the eight modes, together with an extra one for the third mode, to introduce the *tonus recentior* of the psalm *Laudate*. In each case the psalm itself is also printed out in full with the appropriate chant. We extend a cordial welcome to this little work, and recommend it from every point of view, but especially from that of good Gregorian music; choirs and congregations alike will find in its melodious contents a relief from the dull and sugary compositions with which, largely for want of anything better, they have so far had to put up.

R.G.J.